

SYNTACTIC PATTERNS OF POSITION NOUNS IN JAPANESE, AINU, CANADIAN ESKIMO AND BASQUE

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1. The structural similarities¹ between Japanese, Korean and the Altaic languages have long been pointed out (e.g. Meillet & Cohen 1952) and have now become common knowledge. But between Ainu and Japanese, the differences have been mentioned far more often than the similarities (Chamberlain 1887; Kindaivchi 1927, 1935, 1937). Ainu language specialist Kyosuke Kindaichi argues that Ainu belongs to a type completely different from agglutinative languages such as Japanese, Korean and the "Ural-Altaic family of languages", and has the same trends with languages ranging from those spoken by Arctic peoples and American Indians. He also refers to the fact that the Ainu and Basque languages share some common features (1935). On the other hand, a Basque researcher has pointed out some structural similarities between Basque and Japanese (Azkue 1949). Contemporate linguists brush aside the similarities between Basque and Japanese as being "quaint" (Shimomiya 1979, pp.29f) or "utterly inconceivable that they should be seriously discussed in the field of linguistic similarities" (Hotta 1979, p.60).

But, as far as the author, a native speaker of Japanese and who was lucky enough to learn some Indo-European languages as well as some Altaic languages, Ainu, Eskimo and Basque, views the situation, she feels that she has no choice but to say that Ainu, Eskimo and Basque are extremely different structurally from Indo-European languages, and are very similar to Japanese, Korean and Altaic languages. This conclusion has nothing to do with accidental similarities such as ^J*bakari* : ^B*bakarrik* 'only', ^J*da* : ^B*da* 'is', ^J*tori* : ^B*txori* 'bird' and is strictly a matter of typology and universals of

1. Lexical similarities are omitted in this paper.

language that is, precisely, a question to be discussed in the field of linguistic similarities”.

All these languages possess basically an SOV word order, though they often have it changed by applying certain rules to generate concrete sentences; they use postpositions (“particles” or “suffixes”) instead of prepositions; they have logical and orderly inflections and, by agglutinatively suffixing many elements, develop larger structures. They also resemble each other in the way they define relative positions. Compared with Indo-European languages which describe concepts of being “above”, “under”, “before”, “behind”, etc. with prepositions, these languages heavily rely on nouns (referred hereafter as “position noun(s)”, abbreviated “PN(s)”). PNs are, as Hideo Teramura says (1968), characterised by their relativity, and they show a somewhat different behavior from other nouns. And yet they may be thought to be a kind of noun at least in these four languages.

Ainu PNs were categorized under the title “prepositions” by John Batchelor 1938 and, although calling them “formal nouns”, under the title “adverbs” by Kyosuke Kindaichi (1938, 1960). Mashiho Chiri called them “first formal nouns” and appropriately categorized them as nominals (1942). The present author has not yet come across accounts of PNs in Canadian Eskimo, but the Rev. John Hinz, who dealt with Alaskan Eskimo, classifies a type he calls “locative” alongside with nouns and verbs (1944, p. 38ff.). As for Basque PNs, Pierre Lafitte calls them “postpositions” along with other postpositions such as ^B*gabe* ‘without’ ^B*kontra* ‘against’ and classifies them as “mot invariables” (1977, p. 168). Ithurri calls them “noms communs” (1979, p. 30).

In this paper the author omits knowledge she obtained from other authors and discusses expressions of relative positions in the Tokio dialect of Japanese, abbr. ‘J’, her mother tongue; the Saru dialect of Ainu, abbr. ‘A’, which she learned directly from native speakers; the Rankin Inlet dialect of Canadian Eskimo (Inuktitut), abbr. ‘C’, which she learned from native speakers with much helpful instruction by Mr. S.T. Mallon from the North-West Territories, Canada; and Unified Basque (euskara batua), abbr. ‘B’, acquired from teachers who were native speakers of the Bizkaia dialect.²

2. Each of the four languages have several lexical items used to express relative positions. Some examples of PNs are shown below. Accent marks have been omitted:

2. There is another paper on the same theme in Japanese by the same author (Tamura 1982¹). This paper is a rearrangement of the Japanese version with information on Japanese expanded.

	upper side on above	lower side	front	back	side
Japanese	ue	sita	mae	usiro	yoko
Ainu	ka enka	corpok	kotca	osmak	teksam
C. Eskimo	qaa quli	at	saa	tunu	sani
Basque	gain	azpi	aurre	atze	albo

There is the difference between “on” and “above” in the concepts of Ainu and Canadian Eskimo ‘upper side.’³ J_{ue} and B_{gain} do not differentiate these meanings. J_{ue} , J_{sita} are used not only to express relative positions ‘upper side’ ‘lower side’, but also ‘high position’, ‘low position’, respectively. These concepts are, however, set apart in the other three languages.

J_{mae} and B_{aurre} are used also to refer to ‘before’ in time, but A_{kotca} and C_{saa} are used only for spacial definitions.

C_{tunu} , ‘back’, is as common noun meaning ‘the back of the body’.

These languages express the relative position with an object by putting a noun or noun phrase (both abbrv. ‘N’) first and the PN second, and this combination, regardless of the characteristics of the first N, becomes a noun phrase with the feature of [+place] (called “tokorosei” by Teramura 1968, “lekutasuna” by Txillardegi 1979) or of [+time].

An <N +PN> (position) and a verbal (the event that occurs in that position) are conected by the same postpositions called “case particles” or “case suffixes” used by other nouns with the feature [+place] or [+time]. The following examples are those of the leftmost items listed above, but it is the same with other items.⁴

J. yama	no ue	yama	no ue	<i>ni</i>	aru
A. nupuri	ka	nupuri	ka	<i>ta</i>	an
C. kiηηa	-up qaa-ηa	kiηηa	-up qaa-ηa-	<i>ni</i> -ip	-puq
B. mendia	-ren gaina	mendia	-ren gainea-η		dago
mountain of	upperside	mountain of	upper	at	is
			side		
‘the upper side or		‘It’s on (the top of) the mountain.’			
the top of the mountain’					

3. There are more differences in Ainu. See Tamura 1982.²

4. The most typical examples are listed here, though there are other expressions used under the same situations. Omitting the genitive particle or suffix and compounding the two words is a common practice in Japanese and Basque (e.g., instead of $B_{mendia-ren gainean}$, $B_{mendi-gainean}$; instead of $J_{eki no mae}$ ‘front of the station’, $J_{eki-mae}$ ‘station front’). Attaching a suffix to the PN and expressing concrete positions is seen in Ainu (e.g., instead of $A_{nupuri ka ta}$, $A_{nupuri kasi ta}$).

J.	yama	no	ue	e	yama	no	ue	kara
A.	nupuri		ka	un	nupuri		ka	wa
C.	kiŋŋa	-up	qaa-ŋa-	mut	kiŋŋa	-up	qaa-ŋa-	gut {←qaa- ŋa-kkut}
B.	mendia	-ren	gaine	-ra	mendia	-ren	gaine	-tik
	mountain	of	upper	to	mountain	of	upper	from
			side				side	
	'to the upper side (top) of the mountain'				'from the upper side (top) of the mountain'			

In both Japanese and Basque, the N (object 'mountain') and the PN (relative position 'upper side') are connected by the former N's genitive (the postposition of *J*no, *B*ren) and there is no mark of their connection in the PN. In Ainu and Canadian Eskimo, there are personal inflections in the PN which relate the PN to the N. ^Aka includes the concept of relations 'upper side of'.

The above listed are examples in the third person singular. Below are those in the first person:

J.	watasi	no	ue	—ue	ni	—ue	e	—ue	kara
A.	(kani)		en-ka	—en-ka	ta	—en-ka	un	—en-ka	wa
C.	(uwaŋa)		qaa-ga	—qaa-m	-ni	—qaa-m	-nut	—qaa-p	-kut ⁵
B.	ni	-re	gaina	—gainea-n	—gaine	-ra	—gaine	-tik	
	I/me	of	upper	—upper	at	—upper	to	—upper	from
			side	side		side		side	
	'the position on me'		'on me'		'onto me'		'from on me'		

3. The combination <N + PN> is now compared with another combination <N₁ + N₂> which expresses appertinence or belonging of N₂ to N₁ 'N₂ of N₁'. N₁ may also be a pronoun. Examples are given in the inessive but it is the same with other cases.

	N ₁ + N ₂				N + PN			
J.	otoko	no	uci	ni	otoko	no	ue	ni
A.	aynu		uni(hi)	ta	aynu		ka	ta
C.	aŋuki	-up	iglu-ŋa-	ni	aŋuti	-up	qaa-ŋa-	ni
B.	gizona-	ren	etxea	-n	gizona-	ren	gainea-	n
	man	of	house	at	man	of	upper	at
							side	
	'in the man's house'				'on the man'			

5. There are some cases in Canadian Eskimo where the personal affix shows different forms. -ga 'my' changes to -m before case suffixes marking position (-mi 'at', -mut 'to', -kkut 'from', etc.). Some assimilation and dissimilation occur (-m-ni, -m-nut, -p-kut).

Canadian Eskimo differentiates between "third person" ('he': another person different from the subject) and "reflexive third person" ('himself': the same person as the subject). The reflexive third person singular suffix is *-mi*.

- C. *aŋuti -up iglu-mi-ni* *aŋuti -up qaa-mi-ni*
 'in the man's own house' 'on the man himself'

Examples in the first person:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| J. | <i>watasi</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>uci</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>watasi</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>ue</i> | <i>ni</i> |
| A. | (<i>kani</i>) | | <i>k-uni</i> (<i>hi</i>) | <i>ta</i> | (<i>kani</i>) | | <i>en-ka</i> | <i>ta</i> |
| C. | (<i>uwaŋa</i>) | | <i>iglu-m</i> | <i>-ni</i> | (<i>uwaŋa</i>) | | <i>qaa-m</i> | <i>-ni</i> |
| B. | <i>ni</i> | <i>-re</i> | <i>etxea</i> | <i>-n</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>-re</i> | <i>gainea-n</i> | |
| | <i>I/me</i> | <i>of</i> | <i>house</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>I/me</i> | <i>of</i> | <i>upper</i> | <i>at</i> |
| | | | | | | | <i>side</i> | |
| | 'in my house' | | | | 'on me' | | | |

In Japanese and Basque, the two items are connected by means of a genitive postposition in both combinations. In Ainu, N_1 in the left column above and N in the right column (i.e., 'man', 'I') do not change their form. Only N_2 and the PN change according to person. In Canadian Eskimo, not only do N_2 and the PN change according to person but a mark of connection of the two items appears in N_1 (in the left column) and N (in the right column): *-up* is affixed, but it is not affixed to personal pronouns; therefore *uwaŋa* shows the same form for both 'I' and 'my'.

It is now clear that all four languages show approximately the same patterns between the combinations $\langle N + PN \rangle$ and $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ which expresses belonging.

For the sake of comparison, the N_2 listed here are nouns which have the feature of [+place]. The combinations of the first and second items remain the same even if the N_2 has the feature of [+object] or [+fact].

The combination $\langle N + PN \rangle$ becomes an attribute for the noun which comes after it just in the same way as single nouns or noun phrases with the feature of [+place] or [+time] do; i.e., accompanying a genitive or locative-genitive (see§6.) particle or suffix. Canadian Eskimo is yet to be examined. Examples for the remaining three languages:

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| J. | <i>otoko</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>uci</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>mono</i> | <i>otoko</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>ue</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>mono</i> |
| A. | <i>aynu</i> | | <i>unihi</i> | <i>un</i> | <i>pe</i> | <i>aynu</i> | | <i>ka</i> | <i>un</i> | <i>pe</i> |
| B. | <i>gizona</i> | <i>-ren</i> | <i>etxe</i> | <i>-ko</i> | <i>gauza</i> | <i>gizona</i> | <i>-ren</i> | <i>gaine</i> | <i>-ko</i> | <i>gauza</i> |
| | <i>man</i> | <i>of</i> | <i>house</i> | <i>of/in</i> | <i>thing</i> | <i>man</i> | <i>of</i> | <i>upper</i> | <i>of/in</i> | <i>thing</i> |
| | | | | | | | | <i>side</i> | | |
| | 'the thing in the man's house' | | | | | 'the thing on/above the man' | | | | |

4. Ainu has different personal affixes in the N and PN:⁶

<i>k</i> -uni(hi) [\leftarrow <i>ku</i> -uni(hi)]	'my house' (N)
<i>en</i> -ka	'my upper side' (PN)

Some Ainu verbs, adverbs and nouns change their form according to person taking personal affixes. There are two kinds of personal affixes. As transitive verbs (abbrv. 'Vt') are inflected with one personal affix agreeing with the subject and another with the object, the former is called the "nominative personal affix" and the latter the "objective personal affix". The same objective personal affix agrees with both the direct and indirect objects (abbrv. 'Obj.'). Intransitive verbs (abbrv. 'Vi') take only nominative personal affixes. There are adverbs which (1) take nominative personal affixes, (2) take objective personal affixes and (3) do not take any affix (i.e., those which do not change according to person). Ordinary nouns take nominative personal affixes or take none at all (i.e., do not change according to person). PNs take objective personal affixes.

IN Ainu, there are two other ways besides $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ to combine two N's to express 'N₂ of N₁'. The one is done by using the Vt ^A*kor* 'have, possess' in adjective clauses, and the two methods are used properly in the Saru and other dialects.⁷ Examples:

A. (kani) <i>k</i> -unihi [\leftarrow <i>ku</i> -unihi]	'my house' (where I live in)
A. (kani) <i>ku</i> -yupih	'my elder brother'
A. (kani) <i>ku</i> -kor cise	'my house' (which I possess) <i>lit.</i> 'the house that I have'
A. (kani) <i>ku</i> -kor hapo	'my mother' <i>lit.</i> 'the mother that I have'

In the case of relative positions, the N and the PN are never connected by ^A*kor* (i.e., the PN is not 'possessed' by the N). This difference is not observed in Japanese, Canadian Eskimo and Basque.

J. <i>watasi no uci</i>	'my house' (whether I live in it or possess it)
J. <i>watasi no ani</i>	'my brother'
J. <i>watasi no haha</i>	'my mother'
C. (<i>uvaŋa</i>) <i>iglu-ga</i>	'my house' (whether I live in it or possess it)
C. (<i>uvaŋa</i>) <i>ani-ga</i>	'my brother' (as said from a sister)
C. (<i>uvaŋa</i>) <i>anaana-ga</i>	'my mother'
B. <i>ni-re etxea</i>	'my house' (whether I live in it or possess it)
B. <i>ni-re anaia</i>	'my brother' (as said from a brother)
B. <i>ni-re ama</i>	'my mother'

6. Ainu personal affixes are mostly prefixes though some are suffixes. See Tamura 1964.

7. For details, see Tamura 1964.

The other way is to put the locative-genitive particle $\overset{A}{un}$ after N_1 (See the last two examples in §3). This occurs when the N_1 is the place where the N_2 is located. In the case of $\langle N + PN \rangle$, the two items are never connected by $\overset{A}{un}$ (The N is not the location of PN). A similar situation is observed in Basque (See §6). Compare the Ainu patterns $\langle \text{Subj.} + V \rangle$, $\langle \text{Obj.} + Vt \rangle$ and $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ (belonging), $N + PN$ (Positions):

- A. (kani) *k*-apkas [$\leftarrow ku$ -apkas] 'I walk' $\langle \text{Subj.} + Vi \rangle$
 (I) I-walk
 A. (kani) aynu *ku*-kik 'I hit the man' $\langle \text{Subj.} + Vt \rangle$
 (I) man I-hit
 A. aynu (kani) 'en-kik 'the man hits me' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + Vt \rangle$
 man (I) me-hit
 A. (kani) *k*-uni(hi) [$\leftarrow ku$ -unihi] 'my house' $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ (belonging)
 (I) I-house of
 A. (kani) en-ka 'on me' $\langle N + PN \rangle$ (position)
 (I) me-upper side of

Though Ainu is not an ergative language as Eskimo and Basque are, there are limited circumstances where different personal forms occur in the transitive and intransitive verbs. The copula $\overset{A}{ne}$ 'be' is inflected in the same way as transitive verbs.⁸ Examples:

- A. (coka) apkas-as 'we walk' $\langle \text{Subj.} + Vi \rangle$
 (we) walk-we
 A. (coka) menoko ci-ne 'we are women' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{complement} + \text{copula} \rangle$
 (we) woman we-be
 A. (coka) aynu ci-kik(-pa) 'we hit the man (or men)' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + Vt \rangle$
 (we) man we-hit(many)
 A. aynu (coka) un-kik(-pa) 'the man hits us' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + Vt \rangle$
 man (we) us-hit(many)
 A. (coka) c-unihi [$\leftarrow ci$ -unihi] 'our house' $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$
 (we) we-house
 A. (coka) un-ka 'on us' $\langle N + PN \rangle$
 (we) us-upper side

It may be summarized that in the Ainu patterns expressing positions $\langle N + PN \rangle$, the PN takes an objective personal affix as transitive verbs do (the expression 'me-upper side'); while on the other hand, in the patterns expressing belonging $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$, the N_2 takes the same nominative personal affix as transitive verbs and copulas do (the expression 'I-house').

8. Therefore Mashio Chiri called transitive verbs and $\overset{A}{ne}$ ("incomplete intransitive verb") "incomplete verbs" and divided verbs into two groups: "complete verbs" and "incomplete verbs" (1942).

5. In Canadian Eskimo, the combinations $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ describing belonging or possession and $\langle N + PN \rangle$ describing positions are almost the same. But the similarities do not end here. There are some common points between these and the combination $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Vt} \rangle$.

Eskimo is, along with Basque, a so-called ergative language. The subject of an V_i as well as the Obj. of a V_t take a naked form without any case suffixes (often called "absolutives") and the subject of a V_t takes a special case form (called "ergatives").

Subj. of V_i =Obj. of V_t =naked form=absolute= N
 Subj. of V_t =special form=ergative= N -up

Canadian Eskimo, as with Ainu (§4), does not distinguish morphologically between the accusative and dative, and both direct and indirect objects are expressed in the absolute, both corresponding to the same absolute personal ending.

The combinations of $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{V}_i \rangle$ and $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + \text{V}_t \rangle$ are as follows:

- | | |
|---|--|
| C. (uvaŋa) pisuk-puna
(I) walk-(Aux)I | 'I walk' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{V}_i \rangle$ |
| C. aŋut pisuk-puq
man walk-(Aux)he | 'a man walks' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{V}_i \rangle$ |
| C. (uvaŋa) aŋut patak-para
(I) man hit-(Aux)him-I | 'I hit the man' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + \text{V}_t \rangle$ |
| C. aŋuti-up (uvaŋa) patak-paŋa
man (I) hit-(Aux)he-me | 'a man hits me' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + \text{V}_t \rangle$ |
| C. aŋuti-up nanuq malik-paa
man bear follow-(Aux) him-he | 'a man follows the bear' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + \text{V}_t \rangle$ |
| C. nanu-up aŋut malik-paa
bear man follow-(Aux) him-he | 'a bear follows the man' $\langle \text{Subj.} + \text{Obj.} + \text{V}_t \rangle$ |

As seen here, while subjects of V_i 's and objects of V_t 's appear in the absolute (naked form), e.g., $C_{aŋut}$ 'man', C_{nanuq} 'bear' (the suffix -up is attached), subjects of V_t 's occur in the ergative.

In the latter case some morphophonemic alternations are observed (e.g., $C_{aŋut} + \text{up} \rightarrow C_{aŋutiup}$, $C_{nanuq} + \text{up} \rightarrow C_{nanuup}$). Personal pronouns show the same form in both the absolute and ergative.

In the above examples, the endings attached to C_{pisuk} (V_i) 'to walk', C_{patak} (V_t) 'to hit' and C_{malik} (V_t) 'to follow' are, in their indicative form or kernel-sentence predicate form:

Vi endings

-puŋa	[pu-ŋa]	Subj. 1st pers. sg.
-puq	[pu-q]	Subj. 3rd pers. sg.

Vt endings

-para	[-pa-q-ga]	Subj. 1st pers. sg., Obj. 3rd pers. sg.
-paanŋa	[-pa-a-ŋa]	Subj. 3rd pers. sg., Obj. 1st pers. sg.
-paa	[-pa-q-a]	Subj. 3rd pers. sg., Obj. 3rd pers. sg.

Hence, it is possible to extract the following items:⁹

-pu	Vi indicative form ending
-pa	Vt indicative form ending
p	indicative form sign
u	Vi sign
a	Vt sign
-ŋa	1st pers. sg. ending of(1) Subj. of Vi and(2) Obj. of Vt
-ga	1st pers. sg. ending of Subj. of Vt
-q	3rd pers. sg. ending of(1) Subj. of Vi and(2) Obj. of Vt
-a	3rd pers. sg. ending of Subj. of Vt

As seen here, there are personal endings which agree with the absolutive or ergative form of the subject or object. Examples:

agreeing with:	absolutives	ergatives
1st pers. sg.	-ŋa	-ga
3rd pers. sg.	-q	-a

On the other hand, the combinations <N₁+N₂> describing belonging and <N+PN> are exemplified thus:

- C. (uvaŋa) iglu-ga
(my) house
- C. (uvaŋa) qajara [←qajaq-qa]
(my) boat
- C. aŋuti-up igluŋa [←iglu-ŋ (insertion) -a]
man's house
- C. aŋuti-up qajaa qajaŋa [qajaq-a→qajaa (→qajaŋa)]
man's boat
- C. (uvaŋa) qaa-ga
(my) upper side
- C. aŋuti-up qaaŋa [qaa-ŋ (insertion) -a]
man's upper side

Therefore it may be concluded that not only the former noun takes the same form as the subject of a Vt (i.e., takes the ending -up), but also the N₂

9. For details, see Tamura 1978.

and PN agree with the ergative and takes the 1st pers. sg. ending *-ga* and the 3rd pers. sg. ending *-a*.¹⁰

6. Basque has two kinds of genitives (i.e., the form attributed to the noun); one being the possessive genitive (^B*hiria-ren izena* 'the name of the city') and the other being the locative genitive (^B*hiri-ko eskola* 'the school of the city').¹¹ In the case of the combination <N + PN> the former N, as in Ainu (See§4), takes the form not of the locative genitive but that of the possessive genitive (^B*hiria-ren gainean* 'above the city').

Next, compare the patterns <N₁ + N₂> and <N + PN> with the patterns <Subj. + V> and <Obj. + Vt>.

Basque is known along with Eskimo to be an ergative language. But Basque has a triple-personal system while Ainu and Eskimo have double-personal systems. Noun phrases in (1) the ergative (N-k, ^BNORK), (2) the dative (N-ri, ^BNORI), and (3) the absolutive (N, ^BNOR) are combined with a verbal (V) consisting of a verb and an auxiliary verb to form the four fundamental sentence structures.

The N not only takes a case suffix but the auxiliary verb also changes its form according to patterns. Examples of combinations of N in the 1st pers. sg. ^Bni 'I' and those in the 3rd pers. sg. are listed:

(1) N (ABS, NOR)+Vi

B. ni etorri naiz 'I have come'
I/me come (Aux) I-am

B. gizona etorri da 'the man has come'
the man come (Aux) he-is

(2) N-ri (DAT, NOR)+N (ABS, NOR)+Vi

B. neska-ri ni hurbildu natzaio 'I approached to the girl'
the girl-to I/me approach (Aux) I-am-to him

B. ni-ri gizona hurbildu zait 'the man approached me'
I/me-to approach (Aux) he-is-to me

(3) N-k (ERG, NORK)+N (ABS, NOR)+Vt

B. ni-k mutila ikusi dut 'I have seen the boy'
I-ERG the boy seen (Aux) him-have-I

B. gizona-k ni ikusi nau 'the man has seen me'
the man-ERG I/me seen (Aux) me-have

B. gizona-k mutila ikusi du 'the man has seen the boy'
the man-ERG the boy seen (Aux) him-have

10. The form of the personal affixes may be partly different: *Cani-ŋa* 'his brother' but *Csani-a* 'his side' (without the insertion of *ŋ*). Other examples other than those of PNs: *Cpiqataa* [*-piqati-a*] 'the other one', *Casi-a* 'another one'.

11. Called "genitif possessif", "genitif locatif" in Lafitte 1979.

(4) N-k (ERG, *NORK*)+N-ri+N (ABS, *NOR*)+Vt

- B. ni-k neska-ri mutila eraman diot
 I/me-ERG the girl-to the boy taken (Aux) him-have-to him-I
 'I have taken along the boy to the girl'
- B. gizona-k ni-ri mutila eraman dit
 the man-ERG I/me-to the boy taken (Aux) him-have-to me
 'the man has taken along the boy to me'
- B. gizona-k neska-ri ni eraman nau
 the man-ERG the girl-to I/me taken (Aux)me-have
 'the man has taken me along to the girl'

As shown in the last example, in pattern (4) <N-k + N-ri + N + Vt>, when the N is in the 1st or 2nd person, the form of the auxiliary verb is the same as in (3) <N-k + N + Vt>, i.e., when there is no N-ri. In other cases, the form of the personal affixes attached to auxiliaries (or to synthetic verbs) has a perfectly regular paradigm and, as in the case of Canadian Eskimo, partial differences in form according to the noun in the sentence it refers to may be found. The following are distinguished in the examples in indicative present above:

1st pers. sg.

- na- n- agrees with N (ABS, *ni*)
 -t agrees with N-k (ERG, *ni-k*) and N-ri (DAT, *ni-ri*)

3rd pers. sg.

- da- d- agrees with N (ABS)
 ∅ agrees with N-ri (DAT)
 -o agrees with N-ri (DAT)

In other tenses and moods the forms differ, but even then the affixes corresponding to the 1st pers. sg. ABS (*ni*) are never *-t*, and also, those corresponding to the 3rd pers. sg. DAT (^B*har-i*, ^B*gizona-ri*) are always *-o*; *-o* never corresponding to absolutes and ergatives.¹²

It is noticed that the combinations <Subj. + V>, <Obj. + Vt> and <N + PN>, <N₁ + N₂> (which were examined in §§2-3) have no similarity between them.

In the northern dialects, however, when the verb takes the suffix *-t(z)* and becomes a noun (called "infinitif nominal" by Lafitte 1979 and "aditz-izena" by Txillardegi 1978), the genitive suffix does become affixed to the direct object.

- B. mutila-ren ikus-te-ra noa 'I am going to see the boy'
 boy-of see-INF-to I am going

12. There are some vocalic alternations and irregular forms in the regional dialects, but dialect differences in the personal affix are very small.

In the southern dialects no such phenomenon is observed and in the Unified Basque of Bizkaia dialect speakers, the above sentence would be.

B. *mutila ikustera noa*

where the direct object would remain unchanged in the absolutive.

7. In Japanese, all attributive forms of nouns are made by postpositing the genitive particle J_{no} , and the two combinations $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ and $\langle N + PN \rangle$ are both made parallelly by putting the J_{no} after the former N.

In the combinations $\langle \text{Subj.} + V \rangle$ and $\langle \text{Obj.} + V_t \rangle$ the Subj. is marked by the postpositioning of J_{ga} , the direct Obj. by J_o and the indirect Obj. by J_{ni} . Verbs do not change according to person.

(1) N-ga (Subj.) + Vi

J. *watasi ga aruk-u* [\leftarrow aruk + ru] 'I walk'
I/me walk-Aux

(2) N-ga (Subj.) + N-o + Vt

J. *watasi ga otoko o mi-ru* 'I see the man'
I/me Subj. man Obj. see-Aux

(3) N-ga (Subj.) + N-ni (indirect Obj.) + N-o (direct Obj.) + Vt

J. *watasi ga onnanoko ni otokonoko o šookaisu-ru*
I/me Subj. girl to boy direct Obj. introduce-Aux
'I introduce the boy to the girl'

Here, too, it is noticed that the combinations $\langle \text{Subj.} + V \rangle$, $\langle \text{Obj.} + V_t \rangle$ and $\langle N + PN \rangle$, $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ (which were examined in §§2-3) share no similarity whatsoever between each other.

When the sentence becomes an adjective clause, however, the subject marker J_{ga} optionally changes to the same form as the genitive particle J_{no} . Example:

J. *watasi ga mi-ru otoko* \rightarrow *watasi no mi-ru otoko* 'the man I see'

Also, in "*bungo*" (a written language preserving old grammar and which was generally used until the beginning of this century), J_{ga} is often used instead of J_{no} in connecting the two nouns in the combinations $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ and $\langle N + PN \rangle$.

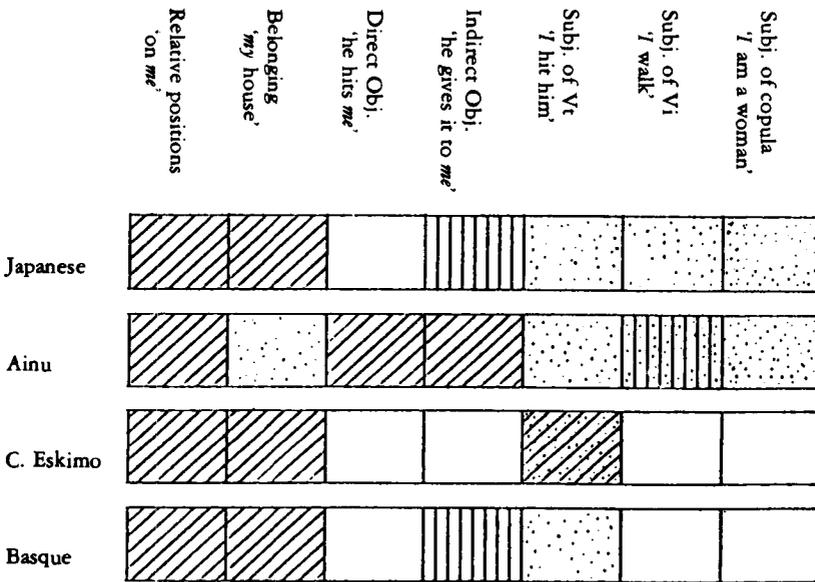
This shows that in Japanese there is, though slight, a similarity between the forms in connecting the items in the combinations $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$, $\langle N + PN \rangle$ and $\langle \text{Subj.} + V \rangle$.

8. All four language share in common the fact that in describing relative positions they use nouns (PNs) in the combination $\langle N + PN \rangle$ and by attaching postpositional "particles" or "suffixes" expressing 'to', 'towards',

'from', etc. But as examined above, there are slight differences. For example, in the combining of N and PN:

the noun changing its form is:	the former N	the PN
Japanese	+	-
Ainu	-	+
Canadian Eskimo	+	+
Basque	+	-

This is also a parallel in all four languages with the combination $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ which expresses 'N₂ of N₁'. A chart summarizing the differences in the combination $\langle N + PN \rangle$ and others follows:



9. The combination of position $\langle N + PN \rangle$ is the same form as that of belonging $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$ (Japanese, Basque) or at least similar (Canadian Eskimo, Ainu). This is true not only in these four languages and those which have similar structures, but even Indo-European languages which tend to express relative positions by use of the preposition, when describing relative positions using a PN, they use the same form as used in combining two nouns to describe belonging (e.g., in front *of* the house; al lado *de* la mesa; diesseit *des* Flusses. In the last example the PN has become a prefix, but even then the latter noun takes the genitive form).

But in Ainu the personal affixes differ between the two combinations as seen in §4. How can these differences be explained?

The first thing that can be said is that there are only two cases—nominative and objective—of personal affixes in Ainu. Setting the N_1 which N_2 belongs to in the nominative saying 'I-house', 'he-hand' is probably a reflection of the idea that 'I' or 'he' is the master of the 'house' or 'hand'. On the other hand, the reason why Ainu sets the object of relative positions in the objective (saying 'me-upper side', 'him-lower side') is that the master is not 'I' or 'he', but the thing at, going to, going out from that position is. 'I' or 'he' are only things which the relative position is connected with; therefore they are put in the oblique.

What is associated here is the existence of postpositional adverbs which take objective personal affixes, and that a PN followed by a postpositional particle is substitutable by them. Some postpositional adverbs express relative positions, and when they take personal affixes, they take those not in the nominative but in the objective (*Aen-^Aos ek* 'me-after come' i.e., 'comes after me'). The reason for this phenomenon is probably, as mentioned above, that 'I' or 'he' are not the masters of that position but only objects that position is connected to and the thing which behaves in accordance to that position (for instance, the person who is coming after me) is the subject. This fact presents a sort of mirror image of the fact that the so-called object of the preposition is set in the oblique in languages which use prepositions heavily.

10. In conclusion it may be said that there are two trends in expressing relative positions:

- (1) to make the combination $\langle N + PN \rangle$ the same form as the one expressing belonging $\langle N_1 + N_2 \rangle$; and
- (2) to put the object in the oblique.

In Ainu, where there are many postpositional adverbs which take objective personal affixes, and in other languages which use prepositions heavily, trend (2) is stronger and the PN also takes an objective personal affix. On the other hand, in languages where there is no such situation such as in Japanese, Canadian Eskimo and Basque,¹³ trend (1) is stronger. It is to be remembered that in Ainu, besides a combination similar to expressing positions $\langle N_1 + N_2 \text{ (belonging form)} \rangle$ 'N₂ of N₁', there is another one $\langle N_1 + \text{kor 'to have'} + N_2 \rangle$ 'N₂ that N₁ has' which suggests the weakness of trend (1).

13. Basque has a few postpositional adverbs, but not many.

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LABURPENA

Japonesak, koreanoak eta hizkuntza altaikoez estructures antzekoa daukatela, gauza ezaguna da. Ainuerak, eskimalak eta euskarak ere, hizkuntza indoeuropearrek ez daukaten karakteristika asko, Asiako hizkuntza horiekin konpartitzen dituzte. Toki erlatiboak adierazteko ere, bide antzekoa erakusten dute hizkuntza hauek.

Gain, azpi (pe), aurre (aintzin), atze (gibel), edo holako toki erlatiboak definitzeko, hizkuntza indoeuropearrek, jeneralki, preposizioak erabiltzen dituzte. Japonesez, koreanoz, hizkuntza altaikoez, ainueraz, eskimalez eta euskaraz, berriz, izenak erabiltzen dira, gehien bat. Eta gauza batetako toki erlatiboa azaltzeko, gauza bat eta horri dagokion beste gauza bat adierazteko, modu berberan edo behintzat antzeko moduan lotzen dituzte izen arrunta (izen komuna, izen propioa. Laburdura: N) eta toki-erlatibo-izena (PN).

Puntu desberdin batzu ere aurkitzen dira hizkuntza hauen artean. Eskimalez, konbinapen biek ($N_1 + N_2$ eta $N + PN$) sujeto transitiboa (ergatiboa) eta aditz transitiboa lotzean erabiltzen den forma berbera daukate. Ainueraz, bi izen arrunt lotzean ($N_1 + N_2$), sujetoa eta aditz transitiboa lotzean bezalako forma erabiltzen da baina izen arrunt bat eta toki-erlatibo-izen bat lotzean ($N + PN$), objektoa eta aditz transitiboa lotzeko modua erabili ohi dute.

Hizkuntza indoeuropearrek ere, toki erlatiboa izenez azaltzean, zerbaiti dagokion gauza azaltzen duen forma erabiltzen dute (adibidez: al lado *de* la mesa); eta preposizioa erabiltzen dutenean, preposizio horren objektoa, normalki, kasu zeharrian ipintzen dute.

Besteak beste, ondoko bi tendentzia daudela esan ahal da:

(1) gauza eta horrekiko toki erlatiboa erakusteko bi izenak lotzean ($N + PN$), gauza eta horri dagokion beste gauza bat adierazteko bi izen arrunt lotzean ($N_1 + N_2$) bezalako forma erabiltzeko tendentzia; eta

(2) toki erlatiboaren objektoko izena kasu zeharrian ipintzeko tendentzia.